

## Message Text

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S E C R E T USUN 3378

NODIS/CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, GR, TU

SUBJ: GREEK/ TURKISH DISPUTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

REF: USUN 3377

1. WE HAVE NOW COMPLETED ONE WEEK SINCE THE SECURITY COUNCIL LAST MET ON THIS ITEM. UNFORTUNATELY, THE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS DURING THIS TIME BY THE FOUR POWERS (UK, ITALY, FRANCE, AND THE US) WITH THE GREEKS AND TURKS HAVE YET TO PRODUCE A DRAFT RESOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH SIDES. UK, WITH ITALIAN SUPPORT, HAS SUPPLIED STRONG AND OBJECTIVE LEADERSHIP. GREEKS AND TURKS CONTINUE TO HAGGLE OVER EACH PHRASE AND INDEED EACH WORD. WE HAVE SOUGHT TO ARRIVE AT A TEXT THAT BOTH SIDES CAN ACCEPT; NEITHER SIDE HAVING TO ACKNOWLEDGE A DIPLOMATIC SETBACK, BUT BOTH HAVING SOMETHING THAT WILL EASE PUBLIC PRESSURES AT HOME AND ENABLE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WHICH COULD LEAD TOWARD A SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE.

2. AT THIS STAGE GREEK SIDE IS EVIDENCING MORE FLEXIBILITY.

3. AMEMBASSADOR RICHARD THIS MORNING CALLED SEPARATELY ON THE GREEK AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS AND DISCUSSED WITH THEM THE EARLIER DRAFT IN DETAIL (USUN 3321). HIS SESSION WITH THE GREEKS WAS RELATIVELY BRIEF. THE GREEKS AGREED TO

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DELETING A PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH WHICH REFERRED TO

THE 31 MAY 1975 COMMUNIQUE AND IN ADDITION TO MINOR CHANGES SOUGHT TO AMEND THE OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH TO READ "URGING THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY TO REFRAIN FROM ANY ACTIVITIES WHICH MAY AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION IN THE AREA SO THAT THERE COULD BE NO IMPEDIMENT TO THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS." RICHARD LATER MET WITH THE TURKS FOR NEARLY TWO HOURS DURING WHICH THE TURKS STRESSED THAT THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY PHRASE THAT COULD BE CONSTRUED AS DIRECTED AGAINST THE SISMİK'S OPERATIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY WOULD DEMAND THAT THE DRAFT MAKE REFERENCE ALBEIT INDIRECT TO THE LAUSANNE AND PARIS TREATIES. RICHARD FOUND WHITTILING DOWN THE TURKISH POINTS AN EXHAUSTING EXERCISE; AND AT ONE POINT, FM CAGLAYANGIL DEMANDED THE REINSERTION OF THREE UNESSENTIAL WORDS WHICH THE GREEKS HAD ASKED TO REMOVE. WHEN RICHARD ASKED WHY, CAGLAYANGIL RESPONDED THAT "IF THE GREEKS WANT THOSE WORDS OUT, THEN I WANT THEM IN."

4. AT MID-AFTERNOON, THE UK, ITALY, FRANCE AND US MET TO REVIEW RICHARD'S EFFORTS THUS FAR. RICHARD EXPLAINED THAT WHILE THE TWO SIDES WERE NOT TOO FAR APART, GREEKS HAD REJECTED LATEST TURKISH CHANGES AND IT WAS HARD TO SEE WAY TO RECONCILE THEIR REMAINING DIFFERENCES. WE DECIDED TO WORK ON STILL ANOTHER AD REFERENDUM DRAFT TEXT WHICH WOULD REPRESENT THE BEST EFFORT OF THE FOUR TO BRIDGE THE OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS -- TWO SUBSTANTIVE, REFERENCE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, A GREEK DEMAND, AND REFERENCE TO THE ISLAND TREATIES, A TURKISH REQUIREMENT -- AND SEVERAL SEMANTIC. WE ASKED GREEK AND TURKISH AMBASSADORS TO COME SEPARATELY TO UK MISSION TO MEET WITH ALL FOUR OF US AND DISCUSS THIS "FINAL" DRAFT EFFORT (USUN 3377). WE AGREED BEFOREHAND THAT WE WOULD EXPLAIN TO BOTH SIDES THAT THIS DRAFT REPRESENTED AN INFORMAL ATTEMPT BY THE FOUR POWERS TO FIND COMMON LANGUAGE AND THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN APPROVED BY OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. GREEK AMBASSADORS PAPOULIAS AND CARAYANNIS WERE NOT PARTICULARLY HAPPY WITH LATEST DRAFT AND MADE PARTICULAR POINT THAT ALL

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REFERENCE TO CONTINENTAL SHELF HAD BEEN REMOVED. THEY SAID THEY WOULD CONSULT WITH FM BITSIOS AND IMPLIED THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO GET ATHENS APPROVAL. FOLLOWING THEIR RETURN TO GREEK MISSION, PAPOULIAS TELEPHONED AT ABOUT 7:00 PM TO SAY THEY WOULD HAVE NO REPLY UNTIL MORNING AUGUST 21.

5. TURKISH AMBASSADOR TURKMEN MADE NO COMMENTS ON

RECEIPT OF DRAFT BUT SAID HE WOULD CONSULT IMMEDIATELY WITH HIS FOREIGN MINISTER. WE FOUR RECEIVED HIM AGAIN AT UK MISSION AT 7:15 PM FOR 45-MINUTE DISCUSSION. THIS TIME HE BROUGHT YET ANOTHER TURKISH DRAFT RESOLUTION WITH HIM (SEPTTEL). HE HAD SOME MINOR CHANGES WHICH INCLUDED REORDERING OF OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS. HE WAS ADAMANT THAT OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 4 OF FOUR-POWER DRAFT MUST BE MOVED TO PREAMBLE AND REWRITTEN. IF THAT AND OTHER CHANGES WERE MADE, THEN CAGLAYANGIL WOULD SUBMIT DRAFT TO ANKARA.

6. PATIENCE OF OUR TEAM WAS WEARING THIN AT THIS STAGE, RICHARD FEELING PARTICULARLY MISUSED AS RESULT HARD EFFORT HE HAS PUT IN WITH BOTH SIDES OVER RECENT DAYS. HE TOLD TURKMEN HE WOULD UNDERTAKE TO SWAY GREEKS TO ACCEPT TURKISH CHANGES EXCEPT FOR OPERATIVE PARA 4. HERE HE THOUGHT TURKS WERE BEING UNREASONABLE; IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT ORIGINAL EUROPEAN DRAFT HAD STARTED OUT WITH FOUR REFERENCES TO ICJ, WE WERE DOWN TO ONE NOW AND THAT REFERENCE WAS NOW IN VERY GENERAL, QUALIFIED TERMS. TURKMEN SAID HE HAD NO AUTHORITY TO CHANGE CAGLAYANGIL POSITION. FINAL UPSHOT AFTER TURKMEN WITHDRAWAL TO ALLOW 4-POWER CONSULTATIONS WAS REAFFIRMATION TO TURKS OF VIEW THEY WERE BEING UNREASONABLE ON THIS PARA AND TO ASK THEM TO THINK IT OVER TONIGHT. TURKMEN DID NOT SEEM HAPPY OVER SUGGESTION THAT, UNLESS WE COULD GET SOME AGREEMENT ON LANGUAGE, 4-POWER EFFORT COULD BE ABANDONED AND ISSUE THROWN TO FULL SC, BUT HE COULD ONLY PROMISE TO TAKE MESSAGE BACK TO HIS FOREIGN MINISTER.

7. SC PRESIDENT ABE (JAPAN) HAS BEEN KEPT INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS ALL DAY. HE HAS BEEN  
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INCREASINGLY RESTIVE AND WE NARROWLY RESTRAINED HIM FROM HOLDING CONSULTATIONS THIS AFTERNOON. HE ALLEGES PRESSURE FROM SOME SC MEMBERS NOW FOR EARLY COUNCIL MEETING. SOVIETS HAVE QUERIED HIM AS TO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PARTIES. HE HAS NOW TENTATIVELY ARRANGED FOR COUNCIL TO HOLD CONSULTATIONS MONDAY AFTERNOON, AUGUST 23.  
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